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SUPPLEMENT

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letter of 15 October 1978 from the
Director of Central Intelligence to the
Archivist at the United States

The Generalitat

1. The majority of exiled Catalans continue to show dissatisfaction with the Catalan Government-in-Exile, or Generalitat. They accuse it of inactivity, of lack of orientation, and of lending insufficient moral and material support to anti-Franco movements inside Spain. This dissatisfaction is not limited to any political group or groups. Some excuse the government because its financial resources are limited and others because division exists among the various Catalan political organizations. Nevertheless, it is the consensus that the authority of the Generalitat should be supported.

The Two Interior Coalition Bodies

3. All the anti-Franco organizations in Catalonia except the PSUC (Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya - Catalan Communist party) are grouped together into two resistance bodies: the Consell Nacional de la Democràcia Catalana and the ANFD (Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democráticas). The Consell is the more important of the two. In it are grouped all the Catalan anti-Franco organizations of Catalan nationalist tendencies. Components of it are the Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, Front National, Estat Català, Moviment Socialista de Catalunya, Acció Català, Partit Republicà d'Esquerra, Estudiantes Catalanes, Unió Democràtica de Catalunya and a few other minor groups.
3. The Consell does not maintain relations with the Catalan Government-in-Exile, but pursues its own course for the solution of the Spanish problem. While the Generalitat is intransigently republican in position, the Consell is disposed to reach accord with any force or organization, including the monarchists, that fights against Franco, and is willing to accept a transition government, provided that a minimum of autonomy is guaranteed the Catalan people. As was reported previously, on 15 October the Consell communicated with the Government-in-Exile, suggesting that, without compromising the position of either organization, relations be established between them (See SO-2284). The result of these overtures is not known.
4. The Consell maintains good relations with the ANFD of Catalonia, and efforts are being made to merge the two organizations. The Consell also has contacted the ANFD of Madrid with a view to establishing close collaboration for solving the Spanish question. The ANFD of Catalonia is the Catalan section

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of the ANFD of Madrid, from which it derives its inspiration. The most important element of the ANFD of Catalonia is the pro-government CNT. Other forces forming a part of the ANFD are the POUM (Partit Obrer d'Unificacio Marxista) and the PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Espanola).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~The Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya

5. The Esquerra has regrouped its forces outside Spain, and an effort is being made to achieve unanimity between the party's forces of the interior and those abroad. Some progress has been made, although differences still exist because of the dissatisfaction of the interior organization with certain leaders in France, notably Josep Tarradellas, the party's Secretary General. The latter, in the interest of unity, does not oppose the interior organization and is apparently becoming less authoritative in the party in France. The Esquerra is endeavoring to act as mediator among the various Catalan organizations in France and to iron out some of the existing differences of opinion. The Esquerra of the interior is trying to better relations between the Consell Nacional de la Democracia Catalana, of which it is a member, and the Government-in-Exile. Until recently, the Esquerra in France had not been in accord with the Consell; however, at present it is endeavoring to increase the prestige of the interior coalition body.
6. Communication between the Esquerra's forces in France and in Spain is irregular, with long periods when no contact is made. Financially, the party is having difficulties. The party's publication in France, La Humanitat, increases its deficit with each issue. Efforts are being made to collect funds for the aid of the interior Esquerra, and in the past three months 450,000 francs have been sent.

Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya

7. The directors of the PSUC make no effort to conceal the Communist character of their organization. They speak of coordinating its position and even its organization with that of the Spanish Communist Party, virtually representing it as the Catalan section of that party. Well situated financially, the PSUC is conducting a proselyting campaign in France. Although its leaders talk constantly of unity, their activities are directed toward producing disunity. Their Secretary General, Juan Comorera, who represents the party in the Generalitat, opposes the inclusion in the government of the representative of the Moviment Socialista de Catalunya, Manuel Serra Moret. Realizing that the Esquerra is disposed to go to great lengths to achieve Catalan unity, the PSUC constantly makes demands that are difficult to satisfy.
8. Although the PSUC sends large sums of money to its interior organization, its activities in Catalonia are rather limited. The claims made in Communist press organs in France in this regard are exaggerated greatly. The PSUC is not represented in either of the two resistance coalitions in Catalonia. The party does not belong to the Consell because the Moviment Socialista de Catalunya is represented in the coalition body, and is not in the ANFD because the POUM belongs to that organization.

CNT

9. The CNT continues to be divided into collaborationists and non-collaborationists. Lately the hostility between the two factions has increased. The non-collaborationist group, which is not represented in the Consell or the ANFD,

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is more active in France than in Spain. Its activities in the interior are of little importance. The pro-government group has been unsuccessful in its constant efforts to obtain representation in the Catalan Government-in-Exile because of that government's reluctance to take sides in the CNT schism.

Moviment Socialista de Catalunya~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

10. The Moviment Socialista is composed for the most part of members of the POUM and of PSUC dissidents, and moves in the orbit of Catalan nationalism. Although the Moviment is well regarded by many exiled Catalans, the organization in France is not particularly active. It concentrates on keeping in close touch with and rendering all possible aid to its interior counterpart. The Moviment maintains good relations with the French Socialist Party and the British Labor Party, from which its leaders draw inspiration in formulating the party's political program. It is represented in the Generalitat by Serra Moret. In the interior, the group is fairly active and forms part of the Consell Nacional de la Democracia Catalana.

Front Nacional

11. The Front Nacional, which was created inside Spain at the instance of elements of the Estat Catala, was the initiator of the Consell and is the most influential organization in it. Outside Spain, the Front's activities are directed mainly toward furnishing aid to the interior organization and increasing the prestige of the Consell. The organization publishes a periodical in France called Opinions, which has a circulation of some 2,000 copies. In source's opinion, the Front Nacional has the best liaison with the interior of any Catalan group.

Conjuncion Republicana Resistente de Catalunya

12. The CRRC is composed of elements who were active during the German occupation of France and who later formed part of the Catalan section of the now-disbanded UNE (Union Nacional Espanola). The majority of its members are dissidents of the Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya. Having just become the Catalan section of the MUR (Moviment de Unidad Republicana; see [REDACTED] for information on this organization), the CRRC is accused of being a tool of the Communists. However, its leaders have reacted strongly to this accusation and have declared themselves to be anti-Communist. The CRRC is small numerically, has little financial support and does not have an organization in the interior, although its leaders claim to have organized groups there.

Partit Republica d'Esquerra

13. The PRE is the Catalan section of the Izquierda Republicana. It is organized in Catalonia and forms part of the Consell. The organization outside Spain recently formed its directing committee. The PRE has few adherents in Spain or abroad and is of little importance in Catalan political life.

Foc Nou

14. The Foc Nou movement was inspired by the Catalan-language publication of the same name.* Its supporters wish it to be above the various parties, and solicit

[REDACTED] Comment: Domingo Pallarola, who writes under the name of Domenac de Bellmunt, is director of Foc Nou. Formerly, the periodical was the organ of the Solidaridad Catalana.

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membership from all groups regardless of political color. They are trying to organize a Catalan unity movement for aid to the fight in the interior for the liberation of Catalonia. Adherents of the Foc Nou movement are not numerous, and come from all camps, particularly from the Esquerra.

Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol

15. The Spanish Socialist Party has little strength in the Catalan sphere. In the interior it belongs to the ANFD. Catalan PSOE members are organized both inside and outside Spain and some relations are maintained between them, but they are not important politically in Catalonia.

Resume

16. The Catalan forces continue to be divided, abroad as well as inside Spain. The Catalan Government-in-Exile has not been able to bridge the divisions and has not been able to organize under its control the forces of the interior. The Consell is expanding and gaining in prestige. In Catalan circles it is beginning to be accepted as the best organization of Catalan resistance.

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